101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wišm); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47); SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

●103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wiŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapĭ·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. [773] In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomup, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·šs·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

● 103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʒi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʒa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Wel- [773] don, NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiništ, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʒat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531 mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. 532a] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapüipan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Rull Run creek.

36. tunabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanum, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

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*1. iŝwahul, Koso site on Canebrake creek, 4000-ft. elev. Now known as Canebrake; up to 1932 property of FP; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 25, T25S, R36E.

2. paca'awat, Koso site S of spring, 3000-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. Center, sec. 21, T25S, R36E.

3. meyumbašt, Koso-Kawaiisu site at spring, 3500-ft. elev.; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 17, T25S, R36E.

*4. u·u·pu·lap, rope place; Tübatulabal hamlet, 2 mi. NW of Pilot Knob, on flat, W side of South Fork of Kern r. (FP); SM gave paca'awat as name for this site, but was probably incorrect. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 100; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 24, T25S, R35E.

*5. čebu·nun, Tübatulabal site, S bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 3000 ft., est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R35E.

6. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site at spring in foothills, N bank of South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2800 ft.; occupied by Tübatulabal family, 1932, and now known as Raphael Chico's place; for est. pop. see no. 7. NW quarter, sec. 3, T26S, R35E.

*7. omomĭp, Tübatulabal site in valley, N bank of South Fork of Kern r., 1/8 mi. NE of Onyx. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. of nos. 6 and 7, 30; occupied by several Tübatulabal families, 1932, and now known as Onyx rancheria. SW quarter, sec. 4, T26S, R35E.

*8. yowolup, Red Dirt place; Tübatulabal site at spring on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 65; unoccupied, 1932.

*9. yĭtiyamup, Tübatulabal site at springs in foothills, n. edge of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 50; owned by SM, occupied by 2 related family groups, 1932, and known as the Rancheria. SE quarter, sec. 35, T25S, R34E.

*10. kolokum, Tübatulabal site, near springs on Fay creek. Elev. 4000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 22, T25S, R34E.

*11. tušpan, Tübatulabal site, near spring, 1/4 mi. N of Weldon, on floor of South Fork valley. Elev. 2650 ft.; est. pop. 50; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 14, T26S, R34E.

*12. pa·da·ʂap, Tübatulabal site, below and above spring, in foothills S of South Fork valley. Elev. 3000 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R34E.

*13. ha·halam, Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 50; occupied, 1932, by 2 related Tübatulabal family groups and known as Jesus ranch. NW quarter, sec. 16, T26S, R34E.

*14. ? , Tübatulabal site, on South Fork of Kern r. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 20. Unoccupied, 1932. NE quarter, sec. 18, T26S, R34E.

*15. umu·bĭ·lap, Tree Yucca place; Tübatulabal site below spring, on flat, near w. end of South Fork valley. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 12, T26S, R33E.

*16. pažeštap, Palagewan site, at hot spring,

[p. 41 (6)]

● 103 e. edge of Hot Springs valley. Elev. 2500 ft.;
361 est. pop. 40; unoccupied, 1932. SE quarter, sec. 31, T26S, R33E.

*17. cuhka·yl, Palagewan site, at hot springs in foothills, valley of unaugmented Kern. Elev. 2600 ft.; est. pop. 60; unoccupied, 1932. NW quarter, sec. 26, T25S, R33E.

18. ho·lit, Palagewan site near mouth of Bull Run creek. Elev. 2700 ft.; est. pop. 30; unoccupied, 1932. SW quarter, sec. 4, T25S, R33E.

Kroeber (Handbook, 607) locates villages at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r., and at Kernville; SM said there were no village sites at either of these points.

361 Hamlet sites might be inhabited regularly
221 throughout winter months, for several years by same or different families. Families often
[171] shifted residence, however, from one hamlet to another for same reasons Northfork Mono moved about (Gifford, 1932 b, 17). Hamlets consisted
592 of 2-6 households; population of single settlement not necessarily all related, but many times were; occupants of each household related. Hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), where SM lived as boy, consisted of 2 related households with personnel as below:

592

House I

Tübat.♂ (1)	Willy Miranda (3)	Steban Miranda (5)
=Tübat.♀ (2)	=Tübat.♀ (4)	Pedro Miranda (6)

House II

Tübat.♂ (7), b of (4)	♀ (9)	Tejon (Chumash)♂ (13)
=Tübat.♀ (8)	♂ (10)	plus =Tübat.♀ (14), ss of (8)
	♀ (11)	
	♂ (12)	

House III

Empty

In house I, (3) houseowner (hani·ganan); in house II, (13) builder and houseowner for 2 yrs., until he and his wife moved to Tejon, when (7) became houseowner. House III unowned; "perhaps
[343] a storage house" (SM). No sweat house at this
[361] hamlet; occupants used sweat house at hamlet no. 4 (fig. 11). Houses 50-100 ft. apart. Occupants of 2 houses did not necessarily act as unit when hunting, fishing, seed gathering, but when South Fork of Kern r. flooded site, both households removed to vicinity of hamlet no. 9 and lived there until 1863. Two other hamlets each consisted of 3 houses.

594 Tübatulabal family biological, bilateral un-
611 named group, neither markedly paternal nor ma-

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishun are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and